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ENORMITY OF CHILD LABOR PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH

A Population Steeped in Ignorance and Absence of All Noble Ambitions
Due to Capitalistic Degradation of Children

In the Chicago Record-Herald Wm. E. Curtis has a valuable and interesting article on the hard lot of the laboring class in the South, where factories and mills are filled with children who are denied education and stunted in growth by steady toil. Mr. Curtis says:

Among the other advantages that the cotton manufacturers of the South enjoy over those of the North are lower taxes, cheap fuel, low wages, the absence of labor laws and the restrictive force of organized labor, and they propose to retain them as long as they can. The average rate of taxation in Massachusetts on factory property is 23 mills on the dollar; in the South it is 5 mills. Fire wood can be had in abundance, delivered at the factory for \$1 a cord, and coal costs \$3 a ton. In some of the mills the operatives work twelve hours, in nearly all of them eleven hours, and the wage scales are much lower for the same work than in the North, although the Southern operatives are not yet so skillful, and cannot produce as much as those of the North.

Children of all ages are employed without restriction, during the school season as well as during vacation. There are now laws concerning ventilation or other sanitary conditions. The operatives are subject entirely to the tender mercies of their superintendents and are compelled to accept their terms or quit. If they adopt the latter alternative they find it difficult to get employment elsewhere. There is no blacklist, but before taking on an inexperienced hand a superintendent will make a thorough investigation of his or her record.

As a rule, however, the operatives are well treated and make no complaint. They earn more money, their work is lighter, their hours are shorter, and they have more comfortable homes than their fathers and mothers, and their own until they came into the mills. The factories are generally constructed on modern sanitary methods and are situated in healthful locations, so that the employees do not suffer on that account. Most of the new mills are models of construction and equipment. The use of electricity in manufacturing is much more general than in the North. The mills are usually situated outside of the towns, or in the country, with long rows of neat cottages for the employees, much more comfortable than the average habitation of the poor white class of the South. The rents are low, and are deducted from their wages, and payment in store orders is common. In many of the factories the operatives are compelled to do their trading at the company's stores, but there is no complaint. They are economical, frugal and save their money. They do not crave luxuries, either in the way of food, dress or furniture. Neither the women nor the men have ever dreamed of the pleasures and privileges commonly enjoyed by the factory people of New England. Their lives are dull and serious; they are not within reach of theaters; buggy riding and excursions are unknown; ribbons and gloves are no temptation, and the wardrobes of the women are generally limited to a couple of cheap calico home-made gowns, and a woolen skirt and shirt waist for Sunday.

There is no system of inspection or legislation for factories in the South. The mill owners have thus far succeeded in preventing all official interference with their affairs, and the operatives have so little political pull that they would be powerless to obtain it even if they desired protection. There is, however, a determined movement on the part of benevolent people in the cities, assisted by the few labor organizations, to abolish child labor, and bills are regularly introduced at every session of the legislatures of Georgia, North and South Carolina prohibiting the employment of children under 12 years of age, and requiring their attendance in school, but these measures have thus far received but little attention, chiefly because the parents of the children are opposed to the law, and several enterprises in every legislative district would be affected. If it is not a cotton mill, it is a canning factory, or a peach orchard, or a berry farm, or a peanut patch in which children are employed, and their wages add considerably to the family income. The average "poor white" would consider it an outrage if the legislature should pass a law forbidding his children to earn money. Public sentiment outside the cities is decidedly against the reform, and will have to be educated up to it.

At the recent convention of the Episcopal church of the Georgia diocese Bishop Nelson preached a sermon on

the subject, which was distinguished for the vigor and directness in which he dealt with what he called "the degradation in which thousands of our fellow citizens are steeped by ignorance, self-content and the absence of all the noble ambitions of civilization." This he declared was "the result of the employment of child labor, the fault being that the legislatures, influenced by the power of the employing class, exercised in the usual way, are permitting chains of a thralldom worse than slavery to be riveted upon the coming generation." Said he: "The injury to the state is incalculable. The tendency and results are a decadence that foils all attempts to reduce the illiteracy of the population, which is a standing rebuke and reproach to the people of Georgia, and injures our repnte among our sister states." The convention appointed a committee, of which Rev. C. B. Wilmer of Atlanta is chairman, to investigate the subject and to report to the next convention with recommendations.

In South Carolina the movement has been undertaken by the "King's Daughters," who are working in the churches and the Sunday schools, educating public opinion and appealing for the protection of the children of the state from a moral as well as a sanitary point of view.

There are now supposed to be at least 10,000 children under 10 years of age and probably 15,000 under 12 years of age employed in the mills of South Carolina who are earning 30 cents a day and upward by working eleven hours a day of six days in the week, without any of the privileges or pleasures of childhood, without education or recreation. The confinement in the mills dwarfs their stature and undermines their physical constitutions.

The census shows 1,340,000 population in South Carolina, against 1,151,149 ten years ago. The age statistics for 1900 are not yet ready, but in 1890 there were 501,393 children of school age in South Carolina, which is nearly 50 per cent of the population, and at that rate there should be at least 600,000 at present. The total enrollment, however, in all the schools is only 281,891, less than half that number, and the average attendance is 201,295, about one-third of the children in the state. In 1890 there were 313,249 colored and 188,144 white children. This year there should be at least 300,000 colored and 230,000 whites, whereas there are only 155,602 colored children and 126,289 white children enrolled in the schools, and an average attendance of only 110,947 colored and 90,348 whites.

The school privileges of South Carolina are limited. The total expenditures last year for educational purposes were only \$896,830, or less than 75 cents per capita of the population. Of this \$693,807 was expended for the benefit of white children and \$203,033 for the benefit of colored children. At this rate it will be a long time before South Carolina is redeemed.

Most of the labor in the mills is taken from the neighborhood and from white American families—the "poor white" class. There are very few foreigners in the South. In South Carolina, by the last census, there were fewer than 500 persons of foreign birth, and in North Carolina a still smaller number. The operatives in the Southern mills are a rugged, muscular race, accustomed to privation and hard work, and, being to the manor born, take a personal interest in the affairs of their employers. In many cases they are encouraged to save their wages and are allowed to share in the profits of the factory by purchasing stock. I have been told of two mills in which very nearly every family employed is a stockholder.

Attempts to introduce negro labor in the factories have invariably failed. Neither the men nor the women will endure such employment and they are not skillful in handling machinery. Neither their mental nor physical qualities are adapted to factory work. It takes a much longer time to train them to handle a loom or a lot of spindles than it does a white person of the same age and education. And when they have learned they are indifferent and careless and cannot be relied upon for punctual attendance. As a rule they quit work on pay day and do not come back to the factory until their money is exhausted. This is said to be the experience of every person who has tried colored labor in mechanical industries. Several factories have been started by colored men in which none but colored labor was employed, but I am told that every one was a failure.

THE JULY CONVENTION

The convention for unifying Socialists and converting jarring factions into a united party is now a certainty. The Socialist Labor party alone declines to participate. This is to be regretted—and yet, perhaps, it may be better so. Time will tell. Whatever may be said about the policy of the Socialist Labor party in hoeing its own row, it must be admitted that more or less danger attends the converging of factions which have long been divided and are still (being human) influenced by their prejudices and their antipathies.

But the very fact that the convention was agreed to by practical unanimity would seem to indicate that the separate columns are ready to unite into a grand army, and that henceforth factional strife is to be silenced and the combined resources of the party are to be brought into concerted action upon the enemy.

As one who earnestly hopes that the convention may accomplish the object for which it has been called, I wish to address a few words to the members of our own party, urging that as many of them as possible be in attendance. The wholesome effect of the commingling and intercourse of the rank and file of the various factions will serve not only to check any tendency on the part of the leaders to yield to their former antipathies, but also to hold the convention true to its course until its mission shall have been accomplished.

It is also important that our delegates should enter the convention hall representing a party free from encumbrance, and as our debt it but small, each branch should cheerfully contribute the trifles necessary to discharge the indebtedness to the last farthing, so that we shall be able to close an honorable record, if that is necessary, and transfer to our successors a clear and clean set of books.

I shall not venture to discuss prospects and probable results, farther than to say that I confidently believe a united party is inevitable. The bitter experiences of the past were perhaps necessary to a more thorough compact and disciplined party, and if we shall profit by it a new era in the Socialist movement of the United States will date from the Indianapolis convention.

The one thing necessary is that we shall have a sound Socialist party, with a platform that will bear the test of critical analysis. By this I do not mean that we shall quibble and split hairs, but that so far as the fundamental principles of Socialism are concerned, they shall be stated with such clearness as to silence all reasonable question as to our party being free from the taint of compromise and in harmonious alliance with the Socialist movement of the world.

The convention need not last long. The sooner it settles the question and adjourns the better. A day would suffice, though I have no expectation that we shall have such luck. Still, I hope some of the long-winded vocal efforts which seem necessary to all conventions—Socialist like the rest—will be postponed or abbreviated.

What we want to do is to get together and down to business. A provisional committee could handle affairs until a permanent one is chosen by the several states, and I am in favor of having every state absolutely control its own affairs, thus leaving little for the national party to do except in years of presidential campaigns. In this particular we can safely follow the methods of the old parties whose leaders are adepts at organization.

There will be no trouble to organize after the convention. Rapid growth is what we shall have to guard against, and that is a danger which will threaten the Socialist movement more and more as it advances to political prominence.

If I am permitted to attend the convention I shall have but one object there. I shall have no friends to favor and no enemies to punish. The scalps I am after do not grow in Socialist timber.

George Q. Cannon, the Mormon and polygamist, the Utah statesman and church dignitary, died recently possessed of a fortune estimated at \$1,000,000. How many disconsolate widows mourn his demise is not stated, but in his will he provides for thirty-three children. Such cannon do more to subdue the wilderness, build states and carry forward our civilization, such as she is, than all the Krupp guns in the world. The United States could afford to devote a thousand old cannon to build him a monument.

Get Your Tickets Social Democrats for the Third Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party, to be held July 4, at the finest picnic park in Chicago—Hoard's, Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues. Make no other engagements for that day. There will be a big program; there will be no better place to spend the Fourth. Get your tickets at the Herald office, 120 Washington street; Springfield office, 700 Lombard street.

INSECURITY OF MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL ARMY

Protection Demanded for the Aged and Invalids Who Give Their Lives
to Society—Old Age and Accident Insurance
in European Countries

By ISADOR LADOFF

The labor problem occupies a conspicuous place in the public mind of our time. The insincerity of the economic condition of the wage worker is undoubtedly one of the principal causes of the prominence given to the discussion of social economic conditions and theories by all public-spirited members of society. The prevalent system of production not only caused this insecurity, but shows a tendency to increase this insecurity in the future in direct proportion to the ever-progressing perfection of the system itself. The alienation of the tools of production and raw materials necessary for production from the producer—the modern wage worker—resulted in the gradual but inevitable shifting of the point of gravity of production from the producer—the living, thinking and feeling laborer—to his dead tools, to his dead raw materials and their legal possessor—the capitalist. Commodities or wares are produced not for consumption, but for gain and profit. The ethical moment in production, the satisfaction of human needs, is entirely lost sight of and economic anarchy reigns supreme. In the insane scramble for profit human labor is degraded to the role of a mere commodity and subjected to all the indignities arising from the chaotic fluctuations of supply and demand.

The laborer divorced from his tools is compelled to beg the man having vested rights in these tools for a chance to work, to be graciously allowed to create a surplus value for one who has the tools in his possession, but does not labor. It is true, that the capitalist class cannot get along without the laboring class. Unfortunately, however, the laboring class does not present a solid front, as a social economic unit to the organized force of its exploiters—the capitalists. The laboring class is rather split up into groups and individuals, not only co-operating, but directly competing with each other for the privilege of selling their labor-power. The wage worker is thus worse off not only than the black slave and even the beast of burden, for whose sustenance, as an individual and a species of animals, their owner had to provide for paternally. The wage worker is even worse off than the tools he works with. If a machine is out of shape, it is not thrown out, but carefully fixed or modernized. The machine costs money to its owner, the capitalist. The living appendage to the machinery, the wage worker, is not the product of a machine shop, but a child of Dame Nature, a son of man, and does not belong to the capitalist legally. The capitalist is not an idle dreamer, not a sentimentalist, but a business man, and from the point of view of gain and profit it would be the climax of folly to take care of a laborer (temporarily or permanently as the case may be) injured and disabled to work. Accidents, sickness, old age, do not exist for the lords of our modern machine production as far as laborers are concerned. The lords of modern machine production would fain prefer to have metallic automatons instead of frail human beings as appendages to their tools of production; giants of mechanical force with the subtle intelligence of a human being, but without the troublesome organs of the human frame, without stomach and heart; monsters silent like the grave, obedient like carefully trained beasts of burden, with no desire for freedom, no yearning for personal bliss and happiness. These automatons do not exist and may be never invented. The capitalists, however, manage to get along nicely without them. The labor market is constantly overflowing with young and vigorous recruits ready and willing to pitch in whenever and wherever an old soldier of the industrial army wavers, weakens and falls in the economic battle.

Accident, sickness and old age of wage workers are ignored by the captains of industry. Unfortunately, however, this ignoring is just as little effective in doing away with accidents, sickness and old age as Christian Science or Dowieism. Accidents will always happen, people will always get old if they live long enough, and sickness will never be eradicated entirely from human life. Accidents and sickness ruin many a worker's family; old age finds many an honest, thrifty and industrious laborer in the poorhouse and the potter's field is saturated with proletarian flesh and blood.

Self-help is a beautiful principle for the strong, but a cruel mockery when preached by the strong exploiter to his victim. The average wage worker is not able to earn enough in his best years and in so-called good times to provide for many rainy days in the summer of his

life and for his age of physical decline. The industrial proletariat in its present unorganized condition is not able to take care of its own invalids. The few unsuccessful attempts on the part of mutual aid and sick benefit laborers' associations to cope with the problem prove our contention. Indeed, as long as the economic condition of the individual members of such organizations is insecure—there can be no talk about the security of the institution itself.

Who shall then take the burden of providing for the invalids of the industrial army of the proletariat? Society at large represented by the state in general, and the capitalist class in particular. The wage worker gives to society at large and the capitalist in particular his best powers, he wastes the strength of his muscles and the energy of his nerves in his endeavor to create the commodities necessary for the life and happiness of all members of society. But when the strength of his muscles is getting exhausted, when the energy of his nervous system is over-strained in the service of society he is turned into an object of frigid and bitter charity. How different is the fate of a private of the industrial army trained in the peaceful and useful arts of creating things necessary for life and its enjoyment, from that of a soldier trained in the craft of wholesale murder and destruction called work. The Cain of militarism is the beloved son of our Christian civilization, while the Abel of peaceful and useful arts is treated as a slave.

The usual objection raised by the Philistines of our time against any measure tending to the protection of the proletariat in his (the Philistine's) aversion to paternalism and his fear of the ghost of state Socialism. Curious enough the Philistine has no objection against paternalism and state Socialism, when legislation in favor of the ruling classes is the object of discussion. The Philistine does not see either paternalism or state Socialism in the protection by the state of such lusty infants of industry as the giant steel trust or sugar-trust babies or poverty-stricken railroad corporations.

The Social Democratic Party of America, the party of the proletariat, must demand justice for the invalids of the proletariat. It must demand that the state should include in its functions the creation of institutions, providing for the sick and invalids of the laboring class, just as it provides for its soldiers. In all European countries, including even little Roumania and the colossus of Russia, there is a system of legislature creating protection for the victims of accidents during work, to the sick laborers and to invalids of labor. Germany, owing to the influence of the strong Social Democratic party, has gone farther in that direction than any other country and provided an insurance for laborers even in case of protracted inability to work in consequence of an accident or sickness. It is impossible to present here an approximate idea of the magnitude of the work done in Europe in that direction within the limits of one article. It will suffice to present here brief statistical data concerning Germany. In 1873 there were legalized 21,226 benefit institutions with 7,106,804 insured; 2,794,027 persons benefited during 46,199,436 days of sickness. The expenditure amounted to 126,018,810 marks, while the total income reached 83,811,959 marks. In 1894 there were 18,060,000 persons insured against accidents; 266,400 accidents were adjudged. The old age pension benefited in 1894 11,510,000; insured, 295,200. The forty institutions had an income of 109,580,000 marks, an expenditure of 25,560,000 marks. Their capital amounted to 329,500,000 marks. The sum furnished to it by the state amounted to 13,920,000 marks. Each member of the sick benefit associations is entitled in Germany to free medical attendance and medicine and likewise to spectacles, crutches and similar things in case of need. Beginning with the third day a sick benefit is paid out at the rate of one-half of the wages received by the patient. A death benefit amounting to a sum equal to twenty times the wages earned by the deceased is provided in compulsory associations. Accident insurance is provided for every insured person, irrespective of consideration as to the party to be blamed for the accident. This provision eliminates costly and protracted litigation. The authority, Maurice Black, points out in his book, *Les Assurances sociales en Allemagne*, Paris, 1894, that the field of charity contrasts with the extension of labor insurance and old age pensions.

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CHICAGO, SATURDAY, JUNE 15, 1901.

**Social Democratic Party Vote
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British India has a population of 294,266,700, with 5,000,000 in the grasp of famine.

Philanthropy is not Philistinism, missionaryism in China, to the contrary notwithstanding.

Boston bricklayers are not greedy and accepted an advance of 2 cents an hour in their wages.

Education is worth having, provided you get the right sort. There is a good deal of education that don't educate.

The population of Ireland since 1851 has decreased by emigration 3,848,419. What a commentary upon British rule is that?

Yes, workingmen are sovereigns in the United States, the ballot is their scepter, and they need not wear crowns of thorns unless they want to.

It is said that Phillips, the corn plunger, made on an average of \$800 a day for sixty days, and in the final wind-up was \$2,000,000 ahead.

The City of New York now has 125 free libraries and expends \$20,000,000 a year on her schools, but not a cent to mitigate the horrors of her sweat shops.

The government patronizes the New Jersey penitentiary in the manufacture of its mail bags, and organized labor, very justly, is kicking against the policy.

Socialism is the only force in the world whose confessed and out-spoken mission is to improve conditions and civilization. In doing this, it offers no quack nostrums.

The man whose courage oozes out at his finger ends over his first failure, is made of inferior stuff. Metamorphosis! He might be made into wooden nutmegs, or dogwood hams.

The Duke of York, in following the martial airs of England over the earth, will cost the working man of that "merrie" land £162,700, or in Yankee currency, nearly \$1,000,000.

A young millionaire of New York, about to be married, announces that the bridal party must all be millionaires. He was under no obligation to convince the public that he is a blooming ass.

Socialism has advanced beyond the limits of ridicule and sarcasm. Its enemies are finding out that they must meet its advance with trenchant blades and all the big guns in their arsenals.

Connecticut boasts of her saving banks, where the poor, to provide against a rainy day, deposit their earnings, and yet the wooden nutmeg state taxed these banks last year to the amount of \$418,280.28.

King Edward VII. has given out that in the future he will tolerate only the titled nobility at his palaces. Which means that John L. Sullivan, Chauncey M. Depey and Lily Langtry will not be admitted.

France, with a population of 38,500,000, finds a way to collect annually by taxation more than \$700,000,000. For 1901 she will collect \$731,000,000. It is not surprising that socialism is gaining in France.

Catharine of Russia, of unsavory repute, had on her shoulders an eminently level head. Born in a hut she died in a palace; born a peasant, she wore a crown and died an empress. Her policy was tolerant. She said: "It is better to prevent crimes than to punish them," and that "to prevent crimes, enlighten the people." Catharine of Russia lived long ago, but she had ideas. Like Tolstoi, she had a glimpse of coming events and of a better civilization.

It has been said that "labor is the divine law of our existence." To rob labor of its rewards is a satanic law in existence since the tribes laid the foundation of Babylon, or since the Egyptian despot built Cheops.

A number of capitalists are organizing a new steel trust, with a capital of \$200,000,000, to antagonize Billion Morgan's colossus, which reminds us that "big fleas have little fleas on their backs to bite 'em."

Statistics show that the people of the United States consume annually 92 pounds of meat per capita, or a total of 7,992,000,000 pounds. As meat-eaters no people, nation, tribe, tongue or kindred equals them.

'The estimate is that Americans annually spend from \$75,000,000 to \$100,000,000 in gold in touring Europe, thousands of whom are utterly ignorant of their own country, its resources and the grandeur of its scenery.

In the year 1900 Great Britain built ships of more tonnage than the United States, Germany, France and Italy combined. England is dependent upon her merchant marine for food. She must build ships or starve.

Indiana is to have a \$10,000,000 coal mine trust, the object of which is to put more "ginger" in the market, but not to put more money in the pockets of the diggers. If they get any "ginger" they will have to strike for it.

A Mrs. Kendrick of Brooklyn, N. Y., bet on the right side and made \$500,000 in stock gambling on the New York Exchange. She says she will do a heap of good with her money in "giving comfort and pleasure to others."

The United States will build, during the year 1901, more than 8,000 miles of new railroad track, making the total mileage 198,833 miles. The total mileage of all Europe is given at 175,821 miles, or 25,012 miles longer than the United States.

Bernard J. Baker, president of the Atlantic Transfer company, predicts the decline and fall of England's commercial supremacy. "The English," he says, "realize they are being left behind," and that the United States, "by rapid strides" is taking the lead.

A Mississippi bishop recently preached a sermon at Jackson in that state in which he affirmed that "the great burden the church is bearing results from the number of rich men who belong to it." He had better be more circumspect in his utterances if he expects to get his salary.

Aguinaldo, once dictator, and now a very small tater, thinks the government of the Philippine islands should be run in accordance with the constitution of the United States. The distinguished Filipino has not learned that the constitution don't follow the flag, or that McKinley is bigger than the constitution.

It transpires that surgeons in several instances have removed the stomachs of patients, who manage to get along remarkably well without the aid of that organ. It has long been known that men could keep up with the procession without a soul, and that the hearts of others are often transformed into vulture gizzards.

In the evolution of pork packing labor saving machinery has been introduced which does all the heavy work. Shoulders are transformed into hams, a dozen different sorts of sausages are made and the hog is made into an hundred kinds of different meat, which demonstrates this is an age of pork and progress.

The tramp question is creating excitement in Pennsylvania. There are many mean and vicious tramps, lazy vagabonds who ought to be made to work, but if Pennsylvania can tolerate such a political hobo as Matt Quay and send him to the United States senate the state ought to keep quiet on the tramp question.

McKinley's satraps are indignant because army and navy officers publicly discuss political questions, and McKinley will be requested to issue a decree putting a quietus upon such indiscretions. These officers are to be made to know that they are simply a part of a great imperial machine, whose duty it is to obey orders and keep their mouths closed—a la Russia.

The man who has to sweat this week to pay the rent of a house next week, thinks it is right for another man who never sweats to own land and houses.

The man who can't get enough to buy back the products of his own labor, thinks it is right for another man who never produced anything to make big profits on those very products.

The man who can't afford to make an excursion of a hundred miles on a railroad that he helped to build, thinks it is right for another man to own ten thousand miles of railroad without hewing a cross-tie or driving a spike.

The machinists of the United States want a nine-hour day and ten hours' pay, and are likely to get what they want. This will give them six hours a week additional leisure, or 312 hours a year. If they will devote the half of the time thus secured to study the merits of socialism it will prove to be an investment paying large dividends in knowledge and progress.

South Carolina some years ago solved the saloon question by going into the retail liquor business herself. She finds the profits of the business satisfactory and expends them on her schools. The time between drinks is not limited, but when a citizen has had enough he must sober up before the state permits another drink.

The stock and bond craze which recently struck the great gambling dive in New York, was regarded in some quarters as a calamity—not so with ex-President Cleveland, who, receiving a tip, played the right card and won \$400,000. And this is the distinguished American citizen, the only ex-President above the sod, who delivers lectures to the students of the great Presbyterian University of Princeton. Bah!

John D. Rockefeller was asked by his bible class if when his children were "little tots he gave them money to buy marbles and chewing gum." He replied that he "always gave them the net proceeds of a pint of oil every day for spending money." He told his bible class that since the "little tots" had become big tots, but not hottentots, it required several hundred barrels of oil a day to satisfy them.

Take nine digits, all 9s, place them in line with the dollar mark at their head, then \$999,999,999, and you have a billion less \$1—about equal to Billion Morgan's steel trust. Now, remove the tails of the digits and you have nothing left, thus, \$000,000,000. In this is seen the fate of Bullion Morgan's steel trust under the sway of the Co-operation Commonwealth, and of all other trusts and combines organized to rob labor.

Ex-Gov. Hogg of Texas, a millionaire, whilom an ardent opponent of trusts, has purchased 15,000 acres of land in Texas and organized a trust with a capital of \$10,000,000 to engage in manufacturing iron and steel. He has iron mines said to be the richest in the world and will utilize oil for fuel, and expects eventually to throttle Morgan's billion dollar steel trust. His name is all right for a trust. "Hogg" fills the bill.

It turns out that a wealthy young man of Waltham, Mass., brought up by good parents and surrounded by the influences of school and church all his life, is a notorious burglar and has been for years engaged in criminal acts. Caught at last he will go to the penitentiary. He had plenty of money, had married a charming woman; he might have been, etc. But it seems he was a horn thief. He supplies a case for scientists to investigate.

A general protest is coming from organized labor against union workingmen belonging to state guard armies. These state guard armies are organized, equipped and supported to shoot down workingmen when contending for their rights against oppression. They are the aids of capitalism, and come to its relief in time of need. No self-respecting workingman will carry a gun to kill a fellow workingman when resisting oppression and contending for his rights.

President Schwab, the million dollar president of the billion dollar trust, objects to labor unions because they "put all men on exactly the same level." Mr. Schwab wants an aristocracy of labor. He said to the industrial commission: "If I was a better man, had more ability than the other men, I would want to reap the benefit of it. I would not want to be put in the same class as the poorest man, where I could not advance or show superior ability." Mr. Schwab has no conception of the power of labor unions to lift up the whole body of labor. His motto is "Every man for himself, and let the devil take the hindmost."

Just now the Declaration of Independence is regarded as effete—something that was well enough in 1776, when the colonists were fighting for liberty, but of no consequence when the United States is engaged in shooting Philippine "niggers," who, like the Yankees in 1776, want to enjoy liberty and independence. There is not in the whole history of treason to principle a case calling for a measure of detestation equal to that which all liberty loving people are now visiting upon the United States for its treatment of Filipino patriots, for which sooner or later retribution will follow.

Pass the Word That the Third Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party in Chicago—to eclipse all others—will be held at Horst's Park on the Fourth of July. The park is at Western Belmont and Clybourn avenues. It is one of the most beautiful resorts in the city. Get tickets now for your family, and make no other appointments for the day.

Their Pious Resolution

A gathering of ministers of the gospel can usually be left to their own deliberations to successfully evolve from their inner consciousness the most uncharitable and atheistic views of working people and trades unionism. This was illustrated afresh the other day at Pittsburg, Pa., where, in a session of the Reformed Presbyterian Synod of America, the preachers gravely and piously discussed the subject of trade unions and actually went on record with the following resolution:

"That we reaffirm our testimony against all secret oathbound societies, and that we regard membership in most of the labor and trades unions as at present organized and controlled as dangerous, and remind our members that the law of Christ forbids joining any labor union."

There is no doubt that such a resolution as that meets with the entire approval of the exploiters of labor who draw their spiritual comfort and consolation from the Reformed Presbyterian church. The well-fed and religiously-bankrupt preachers of a church that has lost its moral influence among the people, with few exceptions, are the defenders and apologists of the existing slave system, just as they were of all past systems.

There are many trades unionists holding the opinion that Jesus was an active member of the strongest union the world has ever known; that he was an aggressive walking delegate and always had his dues paid up. This union has been known as the "Brotherhood of Man." It is true the organization was considered "dangerous," just as this outfit of pious humbugs at Pittsburg considers the trade unions of today, but the interests endangered have always been the same—the interests of the economically powerful, of the rich, of the employing and exploiting class. These interests have ever had in the preacher class a strong bulwark of defense. Members of that class can always be depended upon, instead of standing for the right as Jesus understood it, to defend every form of villany the capitalist system produces.

Portents

There are many persons who still believe in portents, signs, warnings, dreams, etc., and some of them think they see in the collapse of McKinley's grand swing around the circle omens of evil to McKinley's imperial aspirations. McKinley's train was gorgeous beyond compare. His tour was triumphal from the start. Ovarations attended him at every way station. In the large cities there were receptions, parades and banquets, and an amount of sycophancy that made the country gay. The train proceeded in its captivating splendor until it reached the flowery and fairy land of California, when the troubles began. The Governor of Ohio was also touring in California. The question of precedence arose, and the Governor was required to play second fiddle. He and his staff at once became recalcitrant; kicked and bucked in a way bordering upon treason. Then Mrs. McKinley, an infirm old lady with a bone felon on her finger, took sick, dangerously so, lingering for days in a condition bordering upon death. This upset the program, fetes, receptions, parades, ovations and adulation had to be abandoned. In addition, the wife of Secretary Gage of the treasury department died; the condition of the daughter of Secretary Long of the navy, sick at Colorado Springs, became so alarming that he had to leave the presidential combination; and to make things still worse Secretary of State Hay, who plays diplomatic music on Lord Piano-forte, also took sick. As a result of all this, the President, disheartened and sighing, "Why should the spirit of mortal be proud?" did not carry out the original program, but struck a beeline for Washington city the moment his wife was able to make the journey. The astrologers, soothsayers and magicians predict that McKinley will not live to see his empire "burst full blossom on the thorny stem of time," and that it would be eminently prudent for him to arrange his state papers for the historian, say something pretty about liberty and independence, make his will and prepare for his journey to "Fame's eternal camping ground." And yet, there may be nothing serious in the portents, and Teddy the Terrible may never step into the cast-off presidential boots.

A writer in the Bankers' Monthly says, very truly, "there is no sentiment in business," and advises bankers to collect their loans, and, "if need be, the law must be used to hammer the life out of a debt or will not pay." This law hammer is everlastingly hammering the life out of borrowers of money of the shysters, and few have suffered more than the farmers who mortgage their farms. They have had their life hammered out of them, have lost their farms, their houses, their barns, their cattle, their horses, their hogs and sheep, their plows and harrows and hoes—have been reduced to tenants to live by sufferance, and yet, these farmers will vote the Mark Hanna ticket as if it were their duty to submit to the hammering of capitalism.

POEMS OF THE TOWN

The above is the title of a book of poems by Ernest McGaffey, for sale by the American Baptist Publication Society, 177 Wabash Avenue, Chicago; price, postpaid, \$1.20; bound in flexible leather.

McGaffey has in his volume some twenty-six poems, and there are none of them filled with that rosy, unsubstantial melody of laughing brooks, chanting and whispering stars. He contrasts the high and the low, the powerful and the weak, and hints at the nascent debauchery which seems to be spreading over all classes. His "Message of the Town" speaks truly the cold and brutal message of the modern metropolis:

No time for the touch of gladness,
Nor yet for the boon of tears,
We toss in a cloud of madness,
Whirled round by the whirling years;

And an echo lingers always
From which we are never free,
I will harden your heart or break it
If you will abide with me.

His "Ballad of the Shop Girl" tells a story so well known to most of us, and strange it is that any should be blind to it; but it takes a poet with a soul to paint the picture which memory shall not lose:

I never may know surcease from woe,
But I know of Fortune's frown;
I am one of a score of thousands more
Who toil in the cruel town;
And the wolves of lust and poverty
Are waiting to drag us down.

And many and fast the days whirl past
While early I work and late;
And around my path for the aftermath
The basilisk watchers wait;
And civilization bids me choose
The grave or a harlot's fate.

The "Skeleton at the Feast" for picturing a contrast is perhaps the strongest in the collection. It is in winter time. Inside all is luxuriant and the summer vegetation abounds! Outside the cold winds mourn, and during the gayest of the festivities

To the poet there came thoughts,
Which he could not escape;
And suddenly above the rout
And flow of sparkling grape,
As from a mist, came slowly out
A weird and awful shape.

It fixed on him a sightless gaze,
As close its form he scanned;
It spoke to him in hollow tone,
It raised a withered hand,
And said, "I come to you alone,
For you can understand."

I am the despot of the poor—
A slow, consuming flame;
I am the messenger of want,
The harbinger of shame;
I am a specter, grim and gaunt,
And Hunger is my name.

I walk in many humble homes,
Mid whispered hopes and fears,
I know where men and women wet
Their daily crusts with tears;
Where furrowed brows know naught but sweat,
Through the long, tread-mill years.

They spurn religion's solemn farce,
Can tracts restore the dead?
Have sermons any soothing skill
To ease the weary head?
Theology can never fill
A mouth that asks for bread.

The greed of gain has gone abroad
And truth and manhood rust,
The world but one mad impulse feels
And all for riches lust,
While Riches at her chariot wheels
Drags Honor in the dust.

I tell you, wealth, like some great snake,
Holds virtue in its fold;
I am the counter over which
Young girls are bought and sold,
Your kings among you are the rich;
Your chains are forged from gold.

Then as it vanished came these words
Clear as a silver chime,
"I am to all mankind a law
Relentless and sublime.
Go, tell the people what you saw,
That they be warned in time."

"I say to you, the land is filled
With poverty's low moans;
And vengeance yet will pour its flood
I swear it by these bones.
Your brothers and your sisters' blood
Is crying from the stones."

Then gray and wan the silent morn
Crept down the drowsy east,
And sunlight cast a ghostly sheen
Where wassail long has ceased,
None but the poet there had seen
The Skeleton at the Feast.

McGaffey is not only warm-hearted and sympathetic. There is the true fire of discontent and protest against unjust social conditions in his verse.

Aye! we mean it, we; your masters, have you then so soon forgotten
How the condor, Revolution, spread abroad
His mighty wings?
By the dripping head of Louis, the reviled and misbegotten,
We assert it, who denies it, that there shall be no more kings.

No! by torch and sword and rapine, by our hearthstones, wives and daughters,
By the whistling winds of prescience that the gathering tempest brings,
We have gnawed our last of black-bread,
Drunk our fill of bitter waters,
Hear it, heed it, as we say it, there shall be no more kings.

In all it is a splendid volume. "To a Mistress," "After Midnight," "The Night Hawk in the City," "Mary Magdalene" are all splendid portrayals of different phases of life in the modern city. The work is a notable contribution to reform literature.

Seymour Stedman.

Famine is flourishing in China, thanks to the great Christian powers.

TRANSFER OF PUBLICATIONS

The International Library Publishing Co., 23 Duane St., New York, widely known as the leading publishers of Socialist literature in the United States, have sold out their entire pamphlet department, including stock on hand, plates, copyrights, etc., to the Debs Publishing Co., and have retired from that department of literature in favor of the latter company. The sale took place last week and includes the following well-known pamphlets:

A Socialist's View of Religion and the Churches; by Tom Mann. Price, 5 cents.
Socialism and Slavery; Answer to Herbert Spencer; by H. M. Hyndman. Price, 5 cents.
What Socialism Means; by Sidney Webb. Price, 5 cents.
What Is Capital? By Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 5 cents.
Real Socialism; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents.
Socialism: A Reply to the Pope's Encyclical; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents.
Object of the Labor Movement; by Johann Jacoby. Price, 5 cents.
The Living Wage; by Robert Blatchford. Price, 5 cents.
The State and Socialism; by Gabriel Deville. Price, 10 cents.
Socialism, Revolution and Internationalism; by Gabriel Deville. Price, 10 cents.
The Workingman's Programme; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 10 cents.
The Right to Be Lazy: Being a Refutation of "The Right to Work" of 1848; by Paul Lafargue. Price, 10 cents.
Wage-Labor and Capital; by Karl Marx. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price, 10 cents.
Open Letter to the National Labor Association of Germany; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 10 cents.
Science and the Workingmen; by Ferdinand Lassalle. Price, 25 cents.
The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte; by Karl Marx; with portrait of Marx as frontispiece. Price, 25 cents.
The Civil War in France; by Karl Marx. Introduction by Frederick Engels. Price, 25 cents.

The excellence of these publications is in keeping with the high standard, both as to matter and material, of all the literature issued from the press of the International Company, and their object in now disposing of their pamphlet interests is that they may concentrate all their resources on book publication, which work will be greatly enlarged so as to embrace a number of new translations of foreign standard books of various languages, the demand for which is steadily increasing with our rapidly developing Socialist literature.

We are requested to announce to all interested that the Debs Publishing Co. are now prepared to fill orders for the pamphlets above named, and that special rates to agents, booksellers, branches, sections, etc., will be given on application.

Socialist papers that are interested in the pamphlets above named will confer a favor by making mention of the transfer in their columns. Orders should be addressed to Debs Publishing Co., Terre Haute, Ind.

'NOTES FROM THE FIELD'

There is a letter at this office for W. E. Clark, who recently sent a communication to The Herald. If he will kindly send his address the letter will be forwarded.

The editor of the Leader, at Canton, Ill., has given the Social Democrats the use of a column in his paper. It is edited by a member of the Social Democratic branch.

A communication received from D. A. Hastings, of Cheyenne, says the action of the executive board in calling the convention for July is approved by Wyoming comrades.

Branch 9 of Milwaukee will hold a basket picnic at Dazzer's Grove, half a mile west of Forest Home Cemetery, Sunday, June 23. All Social Democrats and sympathizers are invited to be present.

The committee of management for the annual picnic on the Fourth of July, when Comrade Eugene V. Debs will speak, consists of Comrades Westphal, Uhlhorn, Winnen, Stedman and Hallbeck.

At the conference of Connecticut Social Democrats, held at Rockville, Comrade J. W. Brown was unanimously elected as delegate to the Indianapolis convention and Comrade Thomas Lisk as alternate.

The picnic to be given by the German branches of Chicago will be held July 21st instead of the 29th, as announced last week. It is to be at Becker's Grove, Twenty-second street and Ridgeland avenue.

The picnic of the Bohemian comrades of Chicago last Sunday at Neber's Grove was a decided success, a repetition of past seasons. The comrades, with their wives and children, turned out three hundred strong and spent one of the most enjoyable days in their existence.

Branches 13 and 15, of Winfield, Kan., held a joint picnic Saturday, June 1. A dinner was served and good speeches delivered. The daughters of Branch 15 claim the honor of making the first Socialist banner ever exhibited in public in Kansas.

Next week's paper will contain an important article on reorganization and the approaching convention by Comrade Margaret Haile. It is of too great length for this number, and as we believe it will be suggestive and profitable to all comrades anxious to know what our party should stand for in the convention, it will be held and pointed out in our next week.



AROUND THE WORLD

Carroll D. Wright has issued a report showing that the total cost of transporting passengers in the United States is less than one-fifth of a cent a mile.

During a hot debate in the Parliament of Belgium a Socialist member sprang to his feet and began to sing the "Marseillaise." He was joined by his party members and the sitting was suspended.

Local branches in all the towns and in many villages, numerous labor organizations, 8 seats in the legislature wrested from the combined bourgeois forces at the elections in February, 1901; this is the record of ten years of Social Democratic activity in Bulgaria.

Montreal's labor council voted down a proposition that the city's clergymen be asked to preach a labor sermon once a month. The prevailing argument was that the preachers would hurt the cause of labor because of their lack of knowledge of the subject.

William Clarke, M. A., known widely as one of the contributors to the famous volume of "Fabian Essays," died on May 8 at Mostar, Herzegovina. He was on a trip to Dalmatia and Bosnia. He was one of the best known journalists and writers on economics and political subjects in England.

It is estimated that a million sales agents of various kinds, and other middlemen, have been displaced in the last four years owing to trustification of industry. The claim is made that the million-dollar iron and steel combine will alone save \$80,000,000 a year by abolishing middlemen and pocketing profits that formerly went to them.

Building trades unions of New York have been discussing the advisability of taking independent political action. One of the carpenters unions resolved that it is time wasted to start another labor party, and that those workers who were seriously desirous of cutting adrift from the old parties and doing something for their class should join the Social Democratic party.

Three mining companies of Hopkins county, Ky., went into the circuit court and secured a blanket injunction to restrain the miners' organization, its members and all others from collecting union dues, collecting strike assessments, requesting other miners to come out on strike, distributing food to miners who are on strike. The court holds that to organize the miners "would be injurious to the business of plaintiffs."

Mr. John Dillenius, of Boston, has perfected a camera of scientific construction which, it is said, will completely revolutionize the whole system of lithography, and which is said to be capable of abolishing many of the annoying technicalities with which this art has to contend, particularly in the preservation of the beautiful atmospheric effects so necessary to a picture made from nature.

The French Socialist Congress at Lyons defeated, by a vote of 910 to 286, a resolution that Millerand, by accepting the position of Minister of Commerce in a bourgeois cabinet, had placed himself outside the party. Thereupon the "Guesdist" faction withdrew. The matter was finally disposed of by adopting a resolution, by a vote of 904 to 42, declaring that the position of Millerand in the cabinet is that of an individual Socialist, not of a representative of the party.

While the industrial war in Spain appears to be subsiding, says a London dispatch, curiously enough similar troubles are in progress in Italy. The danger is growing steadily without attracting attention outside of Italy, and international indifference will probably continue till the storm bursts. The movement is undeniably in the hands of the Socialists and is of a revolutionary character. Every industrial town is in a ferment with Milan as a storm center, where 15,000 men are on strike.

Socialism in Russia, though still in its fledgling years, gives the following evidences of robust development: A Federation of Labor in Helsingfors represents 40 trade unions with 1,900 members, including 300 women, publishes a central organ, "Tomies," and has built a "Maison du Peuple"; unions of Swedish laborers in Finland and of seamstresses washerwomen, bonnet makers and thread spinners are increasing; disorders occurred in the metal works at Okhta, near Petersburg, where the laborers refused to work on holiday.

Japanese socialists, in their moulting process from utopia to science, still swear allegiance to the emperor and sympathize with "judges and public prosecutors striking for higher wages." But at the same time they are holding mass meetings, demanding effective labor legislation and agitating for universal suffrage. In a public meeting held by the socialist club in Tokio, Comrades S. Katayama, editor of the "Labor World," and Iso Abe, author of "Social Problems and Their Solution," were nominated, as without the international bureau, a spike.

SOMETIMES, TAKE NOTICE

The quarterly dues for the third quarter of the year are payable at the headquarters on or before July 5, 1901. It is urged that branch secretaries bring the matter to the attention of the members without delay. The payment of dues is important and should receive prompt attention. Branches expecting to have representation at the national convention must be in good standing. It is desirable that the representation be general and as large as possible; therefore, members are requested to pay past dues and assist the secretaries in putting every branch in good standing on the records.

Eugene V. Debs Will Speak

A letter has been received from Comrade Eugene V. Debs promising to attend the Fourth of July picnic of the S. D. P. in Chicago. He will speak on the subject of "Progress," and those who attend will have the pleasure of hearing a Fourth of July oration that will be entirely different to anything in that line they ever heard. The speech will be printed in full in the issue of The Herald for July 13. We will fill bundle orders for that issue at \$1 per 100 copies; 500 copies, \$3. It will be a red hot speech for propaganda. Send your orders in advance.

Duty Calls You

To be active from now on to the Fourth of July to make the Third Annual Picnic of the party in Chicago a big, decided and memorable success. Tell everybody about it and hustle the sale of tickets. Hoerd's Park is one of the favorite union resorts of Chicago. Big program—big crowd—big time for everybody.

The French Socialists have proposed a conference for June 26 for the purpose of uniting the various factions, to which Comrade Eugene Dietzgen, being invited, sent the following reply: "To the French comrades, fraternal greetings of the Social Democratic party of America; particularly anxious for the union of all Socialist forces."

About Car Lines

All cross-town lines north of Twenty-sixth street transfer to Western avenue, and the fare to Hoerd's Park, Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues, will be five cents; from North Halsted street transfer to Lincoln cable, then to Roscoe street line, for five cents. Roscoe street line will take you within two blocks of the park.

In July, 1900, the labor department of the United States issued a bulletin containing an investigation of trust prices and wages, by Prof. Jenks of Cornell. The bulletin shows that, for the trusts examined, prices rose on the average 150 per cent from 1896 to 1900, while trust wages rose less than 13 per cent. The labor bulletin also proves that both the number and per cent of those receiving less than \$5 a week were increased by the formation of the trusts. This bulletin and other government reports show that while trust prices rose from 25 per cent to 500 per cent from 1896-97 to 1900, the average prices of farm products diminished 5 or 10 per cent.

Nebraska State Convention.

To all organized and unorganized Socialists of Nebraska: A state convention will be held at Omaha, Wednesday, July 3, 1901, at 10 o'clock A. M., to which all Socialists believing in Social Democratic principles are invited to be present for the purpose of nominating (1) one Supreme Judge, (2) Regents of the University, and to do other business proper to be done at said convention. All comrades will meet at 1517 Jackson street.

F. H. Alexander,
State Sec'y and Treas.

Bring the Children

And give them a day's outing at the Annual Picnic of the Social Democratic Party, July Fourth. It will be at Hoerd's beautiful park, Western, Belmont and Clybourn avenues. There will be lots of fun for the boys and girls, and they will be admitted free up to the age of twelve, accompanied by parents.

CROSS AND CROWN

Tis weary watching wave by wave,
And yet the tide heaves onward;
We climb, like corals, grave by grave,
That pave a pathway onward;
We're driven back for our next fray
A newer strength to borrow,
And where the vanguard camps today
The rear shall rest tomorrow.

Tho' hearts brood o'er the past, our eyes
With smiling futures gladden;
For, lo! our day bursts up the skies—
Lean out your souls and listen!
The world is rolling freedom's way,
And ripening with her sorrow;
Take heart—who bear the cross today
Shall wear the crown tomorrow.
—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, 1901.

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THIRD ANNUAL PICNIC
SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

TIME Fourth of July, 1901
PLACE Hoerd's Park, Chicago
LOCATION Western, Belmont and Clybourn aves.

ATTRACTIONS Music, Dancing, Entertainment, Bowling Alleys, Sports, Speeches, Prizes, Refreshments.

SPEAKER:

EUGENE V. DEBS

Subject: "PROGRESS."

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THIRD PRIZE—Pair of Kid Gloves.

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MAKE NO OTHER ENGAGEMENTS FOR THAT DAY

THE FOURTH OF JULY

The proceeds of the picnic will be used for benefit of 126 It will be the first benefit the Social Democratic Herald has had in three years. Further particulars will be given in later editions. Get your tickets (25 cents each) and put your shoulder to the wheel. We call upon every comrade to do his duty. All children under twelve, accompanied by parents, admitted free.

REMEMBER THE TIME AND PLACE

THIRD ANNUAL PICNIC COMMITTEE

C. T. H. WESTPHAL, Chairman

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LIBRARY

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